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# Masaryk

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

JAN MASARYK was a complicated person and he may have had many reasons for deciding to die—illness, pain, despair of life itself. But surely among his reasons was the brutal suppression of freedom in Czechoslovakia. His death was a final, cold comment on the death of his country's honorable attempt to combine liberty with friendship for Russia.

Only idiots believed that Masaryk's rueful wit and lightness were marks of triviality. He was a man of great sensibility and generous ideals tempered by a worldly cynicism without which he could hardly have survived Munich or the experience of the war and Nazi domination of his country. It was this complex and flexible wisdom that also enabled him to maneuver as long as he did through the cross-currents of post-war diplomatic conflict. He could understand, and so minimize to a measurable extent, the pressures that constantly narrowed his own, and his country's, freedom of action.

He never expected Russia's leaders—or the Czech Communists—to act like democrats, and so, accepting the unarguable necessity of getting on with both, he applied his immense skill to finding formulas of accommodation which would permit the people of his country to breathe free air even within the contracting boundaries of Moscow's supposed interests. It was an exhausting effort, and if Masaryk had been less a man of conscience or more a political dogmatist he could not have endured it as long as he did. Certainly he considered himself a socialist, in broad non-party terms, and a liberal, and a patriot. But before all these he was a humanitarian. He was more concerned to have the people of his country live as human beings than to support any particular party or national claim. I remember one thing he said in the course of a talk I had with him during the San Francisco conference. He was describing the pressures on him from both sides, the compromising role the Western powers were playing and the tough, stubborn tactics of his Russian colleagues. He felt that Czechoslovakia, and he as its representative, stood almost alone, "in the middle," trying for a liberal, realistic policy against almost hopeless odds. And at one point he used these words: "I like the Russians; I can get on with them. I don't care what they are as long as our children are allowed to reach out toward heaven—a heaven without God, perhaps, but heaven anyhow. . . . But, honestly, if Czechoslovakia isn't able to stand on its own feet, everything goes." And by "everything" he meant the values for which he stood in the rebuilding of Europe.

BUT if the coup and the rapid concentration of Communist power finally blotted out Jan Masaryk's heaven, it would be unfair to ignore his profound bitterness over the refusal of the Western powers to lend their strength to the support of freedom in Europe. To talk to Masaryk about the West was to realize the depth of his allegiance to Western ideals. Of Russia he expected hardly more than a willingness to tolerate difference in return for a guaranteed friendship. Of the West he asked loyalty to its own professed faith. He wanted the West to behave as if it really believed in democracy—a little, at least—and when it failed, his feeling was one of mixed contempt and sorrow, for he was convinced that its best efforts to limit the spread of communism and secure the peace would be fatally compromised by its open tolerance of reaction. Several times I heard him express his desperate sense of frustration at the refusal of the Western powers, above all the United States, to deal in realistic terms with the tragic divisions and distress of the Continent. Masaryk believed in the need of reviving trade, of keeping contacts alive, of preventing the freezing of Europe in separate blocs. To him the strategy of "toughness" and isolation applied to Russia and the other Eastern states was immature, negative, and dangerous, no matter how real the provocation.

Byrnes's decision to withdraw credits from Czechoslovakia when he saw a Czech at the Paris Foreign Ministers' conference applaud a speech by Vishinsky was to Masa-

*This is not a normal issue of* The Nation. *Most of it was locked up three days in advance of the usual closing time, owing to the probability that by this week the composing rooms in New York's book, job, and magazine printing plants would be closed down by a strike or lock-out. In preparing the issue, therefore, we were forced to drop out eight pages of material, including Del Vayo's regular page from Europe. Next week, we hope,* The Nation *will appear in its usual format.*

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ryk a symbol of the whole self-defeating hysteria of American foreign policy. For Masaryk firmly believed that the West, led by the United States, could have consolidated a sound progressive democracy in Europe. Can anyone doubt that its failure to do so was one of the intimate factors in his final surrender?

It would be a poor tribute to Masaryk to take his death as a token that his prescription was false. That he, as an individual leader standing "in the middle," could no longer serve his faith or his conscience is understandable. But we who share the same vision of a decent world and who are not yet encompassed by absolute power can go on fighting. And this is what we must do. Above all, we cannot permit the death of Masaryk to be used as an excuse by ourselves or by the government for measures of reprisal and policies of reaction.

# *The Shape of Things*

RELIEF OVER THE SENATE'S PASSAGE OF THE European Recovery Program is modified both by the blunt warnings of war that sped its course through that chamber and by the prospects facing it in the House. It is hard to imagine that the Senate would have rushed the historic bill through in such record time or by as overwhelming a vote as 69 to 17 had it not been for the combination of ominous tragedy in Czechoslovakia, President Truman's comment that his confidence in the prospect of peace had been shaken, and Secretary of State Marshall's warning that "the situation is very, very serious." However drastically the Truman and Marshall statements may be interpreted, the urgency of E. R. P. is apparent from any reference to the calendar. The stopgap program of aid to France, Italy, and Austria, voted by Congress last December, expires March 31. The crucial Italian election is scheduled for April 18. Another interim-aid bill, such as the President has already requested, may serve to keep Italy going until the House sees fit to act, but should that body falter or break the essential pattern of the Marshall Plan, Italy will almost certainly swing to the Communists. It is in this setting that the gravest misgivings arise over the stubborn insistence of House leaders on combining E. R. P. with special and controversial, not to say questionable, programs of aid to Greece, Turkey, and China. These proposals, forced over the appeal of Secretary Marshall and Senator Vandenberg, not only add enormous complexities to the bill but introduce matters not even considered as yet by the Senate. The net effect must be either a tragic, perhaps fatal, delay or the compromising of a carefully weighed policy by a hasty and ill-conceived supplement, forced on the Senate, the President, and the country in a maneuver hardly to be distinguished from blackmail.

GENERAL MACARTHUR HAS AT LAST GIVEN the signal for those "extraordinary circumstances" which he once hinted would alone serve to take him from Japan before the completion of his task. His decision to run for President if "called by the American people" has been received with no more enthusiasm by professional Republican politicians than they accorded the unofficial boom for General Eisenhower. MacArthur's supporters, like Eisenhower's, will have to depend on a ground swell in the country and a miracle at the convention. But here the resemblance between the two candidacies would seem to end. Rightly or wrongly, Eisenhower's G. O. P. backers expected him not only to appeal to rank-and-file Republicans but to pick up large blocks of normally Democratic votes among liberals, internationalists, and trade-unionists. The MacArthur campaign, on the other hand, has been inspired on the far right, and if the General should be nominated, the thought is that he would attract the votes of disaffected Southern Democrats. Eisenhower inherited the Willkie following, while MacArthur's chief boosters are Colonel McCormick and the Hearst press, which announced his candidacy in type presumably reserved for the Second Coming. Eisenhower appeals as the citizen-soldier, MacArthur as the professional militarist. There are those who believe, on the strength of MacArthur's performance in Japan, that his present backers are mistaken in their man and that he is running under the wrong auspices. If so, nothing would please us more than to have him return and confound his promoters. But until that happens we remain profoundly skeptical.

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THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS PUBLISHED an "Economic Survey for 1948" which makes cheerless reading for Britons. At best it promises a year of unremitting toil with no relaxation in austerity standards; at worst, further drastic cuts in imports which will not only require still tighter belts but cause severe unemployment. By forcing exports, restricting imports, and cutting government overseas expenditure, it is hoped to achieve a reduction in the deficit on foreign account of $544,000,000 in the first half of 1948, which compares with one of $2,700,000,000 for the whole of 1947. The drain on gold and dollar reserves is, however, estimated at $444,000,000 up to June 30, partly because of the needs of the rest of the sterling area. As a result, these reserves will be brought down to $1,800,000,000, which is very near the irreducible minimum. Unless E. R. P. comes to the rescue, therefore, it will be necessary to cut still farther imports from the Western Hemisphere, which must be paid for in dollars. Since food purchases have already been slashed almost to the bone, this would mean reduction in raw-material imports, which would involve in turn restriction of production and heavy unemployment. That is a prospect of which the British government must warn its people so that they may be prepared for the worst. It need not happen. As the "Economic Survey" puts it: "The year 1948 will beyond doubt be dominated by the decisions of the United States Congress on the grant of aid to Europe for reconstruction."

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"THE CHURCH'S ONLY HOPE FOR SECURING desperately needed federal funds for its schools," wrote Paul Blanshard in these pages four months ago, "is the development of some device for *indirect* appropriations which would by-pass . . . statutes prohibiting public expenditures for parochial schools." But it is not so easy to by-pass the Constitution. The Supreme Court, in an extremely important decision last week, ruled that it is unconstitutional to use "the state's tax-supported public school buildings . . . for the dissemination of religious doctrines." The ruling, of course, holds for *all* religious doctrines, but since it applied specifically to the use of "released time" during school hours for religious instruction, the Roman Catholic church, which has been the chief promoter of "released-time" programs, will be most affected. The judgment referred to a case in Champaign, Illinois, where religious instruction has been given in public-school rooms. It remains to be seen whether it will be held to apply to instruction offered outside the classroom during school hours, as in New York City. Last year's decision in the New Jersey school-bus case seemed to us a contravention of the vital principle of the separation of church and state. We are relieved to see the trend arrested, and we trust the framers of federal bills to aid education will take careful note.

# POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

WITH a Democratic council of war about to consider the matter of his vanishing appeal, President Truman apparently decided to take no chances. The revelation that he is ready for four more years in the White House, uninhibited by the sense of inadequacy that haunted his first humble months at that address, was an obvious effort to jump the gun. While he could hardly have feared that the party's Executive Committee would take any drastic action at this time—or open action at any time—his close advisers apparently thought it best to confront the committee with an accomplished fact. The President does not want to be asked, however discreetly, to step aside.

Whatever the effect of this maneuver on the private inclinations of the committee members, it should not be thought for a moment to have put an end to the revolt in the party. On the contrary, the win-without-Truman movement, snowballing at an ever-increasing speed, has taken on the proportions of a political phenomenon.

Capitol Hill reactions to the Truman declaration show how far the storm is from abating. Top Democratic leaders like Barkley, Rayburn, and McCormack, who would normally be first with encomiums for their party's standard bearer, greeted the President's offer to run with a loud silence. The New York delegation has maintained a coolness that amounts to chill. The Confederates remain as truculent as ever, with Senator Thomas of Oklahoma conceding Truman "not a chance in the world" and Williams of Mississippi asking why the President doesn't "quit now while he is only 20,000,000 votes behind." Senator Pepper, who broke with his Southern colleagues on the civil-rights issue, has had nothing to say, and his Florida colleague and protégé, Senator Holland, has managed to work up just enough enthusiasm to remark that "how it will work out only time will tell."

In private the talk is, if anything, even more grim. As though a disaffected South and a badly wobbling North were not enough, a New Deal member from the Pacific Coast suggests that as of today Truman could not carry a single state west of the Mississippi except Arizona. And another talks vaguely but hopefully of the party's "figuring out something by July."

If anything is to be figured out, it will have to be done long before July. Faced with disintegration, the party that broke precedent to nominate Roosevelt four times running can afford to ignore the political amenities with Truman. If the Democrats have any interest in winning in November, they will do well to raise *now* the cry for an open convention, while there is still time to work in the primaries. Orthodox or not, they have nothing to lose.

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# Stassen vs. Dewey—First Round

BY HERBERT L. MARX, JR.

*Concord, New Hampshire, March 10*

THE results of the New Hampshire primary on March 9 were unsatisfactory for those who looked for a clear-cut indication of things to come. Both Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York and Minnesota's ex-Governor Harold E. Stassen said that they were well pleased with the results. The impartial observer would judge that the Minnesotan probably had a little more reason for his pleasure.

Fifty thousand registered Republicans—a record Primary Day turnout—in electing their eight delegates to the Republican National Convention gave six to Dewey and two to Stassen. This would appear to be a decided victory for the New York governor, but Dewey forces had hoped for seven delegates or a clean sweep. Dewey was backed by Governor Charles M. Dale and many of the state's veteran political leaders. In keeping with his current strategy, he did not actively inject himself into the campaign, limiting himself to one "non-political" visit to the state some time ago. Dewey forces in New Hampshire campaigned actively throughout the state. Governor Dale's private suite in the Eagle Hotel in Concord was their headquarters.

Ex-Governor Stassen, trying his personal brand of campaigning, made three separate visits to New Hampshire and spoke in many places. The efforts of his supporters reached a climax a few days before the vote when "Paul Revere riders" covered the state in 150 automobiles, scattering Stassen literature.

Both sides used mass-mailings extensively and provided "slate cards" which voters could carry into the polling booths to guide them through the intricacies of the long ballot. Public gatherings in support of the candidates were confined to teas, dinners, and some stump speeches. ("You don't call them mass-meetings in New Hampshire," a Dewey worker said.)

New Hampshire has the nation's largest state legislature (424 members), a five-man Executive Council to keep check on its governor, and a firm tradition of independence in its political views. But the Stassen-Dewey contest was something new in Granite State politics. It was the first time that two Presidential aspirants had made an active fight for the state's delegates. This, combined with the fact that the primary date fell weeks before any other state-wide primary, gave New Hampshire Republicans a sense of being in the limelight.

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But the New Hampshire primary law prevented a decisive verdict on the competing Presidential aspirants. New Hampshire voters, like those of California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and South Dakota, have no means of indicating directly their choice for their party's Presidential nominee. These five states elect convention delegates who may or may not have pledged themselves to support and vote for a single candidate. Thus in New Hampshire a delegate's name may appear on the primary ballot either with no indication of his preference or with a notation which pledges him to the support of a certain candidate. A unique feature of the New Hampshire ballot is that a pledged delegate must vote for his choice at the convention until the candidate chooses to release him. A third type of delegate is unpledged but known to be "favorable" to one of the candidates. His name on the primary ballot is not accompanied by a notation, but he has previously informed the voters whom he supports. In this manner a delegate shows his preference but does not bind his action at the convention.

IN THE recent Republican primary eleven men sought the four delegate-at-large seats in the convention. Six others competed for the two seats from the First Congressional District, and seven more for the two seats from the Second District. Of these twenty-four candidates, only six were pledged—one to Stassen, three to Dewey, and two diehards to Eisenhower. (It was to Leonard V. Finder, Manchester newspaper publisher, that the General addressed his "not available" letter. Eisenhower sentiment is still very much alive in New Hampshire, and a strong group, including United States Senator Charles Tobey, was ready to go into action.)

Of the eighteen unpledged contestants for delegate seats, six were "favorable" to Dewey, seven to Stassen, one to Eisenhower, and four were uncommitted. The effectiveness of the Dewey and Stassen campaigns can be gauged by the fact that the Eisenhower supporters and the uncommitted candidates trailed men pledged or favorable to Dewey or Stassen by 4,000 to 11,000 votes.

The Stassen followers were cheerful throughout the campaign, knowing that they had everything to gain and nothing to lose. For Dewey the situation was almost exactly reversed. Among the six Dewey candidates who won were Governor Dale, ex-Governor Robert O. Blood, Republican State Vice-Chairman Robert W. Upton, former Motor Vehicles Commissioner Virgil D. White, and

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Charles A. Holden, who created a stir in 1944 by being the only New Hampshire candidate pledged to Dewey to win a convention seat. This line-up proved invincible, for many voters simply marked familiar names.

Stassen's sole pledged delegate—Earl S. Hewitt, editor of a Hanover weekly newspaper—ran only a few thousand votes behind much more widely known men favorable to either Stassen or Dewey. Stassen's two victories were the election of former Congressman Foster Stearns and William G. Saltonstall, cousin of the United States Senator from Massachusetts and headmaster of Phillips Exeter Academy. Two other candidates favorable to Stassen ran close behind Stearns in the at-large contest.

Post-mortem experts figure that Stassen might have made a better showing if more candidates had been pledged to him. But there is strong sentiment against the "ironclad" pledge, and it may be eliminated by the legislature next year. "We hold the first primary in the country," many people say, "and we would look pretty silly pledging ourselves to a candidate who may be out of the picture by June. We want to be able to climb on the bandwagon at the right time, too, instead of sticking to our candidate—if he fades—down to the last ballot."

New Hampshire Democrats voted for sixteen delegates-at-large with half a vote each and for two delegates from each of the two Congressional districts. Forty-three candidates sought these seats, all pledged to President Truman. The real fight in the Democratic Party was a three-way contest for party control among Charles A. Burke of Manchester, Harry Carlson of Plainfield, and a group of "regulars" who disdain both sides of this factional division as "bad for the party." The primary results were inconclusive. Carlson is known to be an old friend of Henry A. Wallace and has wide backing among the farmers, but he does not seem to play a role in the third-party movement. Although Wallace will be on the ballot in New Hampshire on Election Day, there is little organized support for him, and local political leaders discount his possible strength completely.

The next test of strength for Presidential timber comes in Wisconsin on April 6. Dewey and Stassen will meet again there, and with the addition of MacArthur's name the vote will be more indicative than it was in New Hampshire. Several of the "favorable" delegates in New Hampshire said they would switch to Vandenberg if their man had no chance at the convention. New Hampshire will be watching Wisconsin and other primaries to see if it has indeed picked a winner in Tom Dewey.

# *Farben Nazis on Trial*

BY HOWARD WATSON AMBRUSTER

TWENTY-THREE leaders of I. G. Farbenindustrie are now being tried in Nürnberg as war criminals. They are accused of having allied themselves with the Nazis, of having synchronized German industry with the plans of the Hitler high command, of establishing foreign espionage, of weakening and then plundering the countries invaded by Hitler, and finally of carrying on racial persecution, using slave labor, and committing atrocities, including mass murder. General Telford Taylor, Chief United States War Crimes Prosecutor, has branded them as "the real war criminals, rather than the half-mad Nazi gangsters." Yet there are cogent reasons for predicting that Dr. Hermann Schmitz, Farben's Number One man, and his twenty-two colleagues, will be acquitted or given nominal sentences.

*HOWARD AMBRUSTER is the author of "Treason's Peace." A speech he delivered at Cleveland in January, broadcast over CBS, induced four hundred business and professional men of the city to sign a petition to Congress demanding investigation of the evidence that the trials of the Farben, Krupp, and other industrialists at Nürnberg had been "fixed."*

The most immediate and the most obvious reason is the fact that the three American judges who are hearing the case derive their authority from an ordinance which, in effect, requires them to follow the precedent of the trials of 1945, in which twelve of the defendants were condemned to execution or imprisonment and three acquitted—among them H. Horace Greeley Schacht.

Schacht, as Germany's leading financial wizard, was a close associate of the Farben leaders before and during the Nazi regime and with them helped to finance Hitler's emergence from the gutter. Despite his evil record Schacht was judged not guilty by the International Tribunal on the preposterous ground that it had not been proved that he knew of Hitler's intention to wage aggressive war. A few weeks later the American Military Government promulgated the ordinance which established the All American War Crimes Tribunals. This law, which was approved without fanfare, decreed that the judges sitting in its courts should be guided by the decisions of the four-power International Tribunal and accept as precedent the judgment which freed Schacht —because of his plea that he didn't know of Hitler's evil purpose.

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Another disturbing factor emerges when we examine the auspices under which the three judges were chosen. The judges who are sitting in this case, and those who preside at all the other trials for war crimes held under the authority of the American Military Government, were appointed by executive order of the President. But they were selected by the War Department. Officials of the department, when I asked who recommended the judges, replied that this information was confidential—none of the public's business. But it is a matter of record that preparations for the trials were in the hands of the then Assistant Secretary of War Howard Peterson. And Mr. Peterson entered the government service from the law firm of Cravath, deGersdorff, Swaine, and Wood, which for many years acted as counsel for I. G. Farben and its affiliates and subsidiaries in our courts.

This is not necessarily a reflection upon the integrity or legal knowledge of the three somewhat obscure individuals who are now hearing the Farben case. As a matter of fact, all three seem to be well thought of in their home states, though the press has published little or nothing about their records. But they are not likely to challenge the precedent cited above since they are under no public pressure to do so. Meanwhile it is significant that another all-American court has acquitted a member of the Elite Guard, the dreaded S. S., on the defendant's plea that he was not informed of the "intent" of the organization of which he was a member; and that, more recently, Fr. Flick, who took over the direction of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the German steel cartel, when Fritz Thyssen stepped aside, who used slave labor and was an ardent supporter of Hitler's war aims, was given the absurdly inadequate sentence of seven years' imprisonment, with two and a half years canceled as already having been served.

These facts are disquieting in themselves; and they lend substance to the ominous rumors that I. G. Farbenindustrie continues to exist, in shadow form, that it is still terribly powerful, and that when the time comes it will resume business as usual. The Farben plants are now being operated on a so-called peace-time basis. These plants, which produce chemicals used in both peace and war, have been decartelized—so we have been told—and turned into independent units which are no longer under a centralized management with world-wide cartel alliances. But each plant is being managed by a former subordinate of the twenty-three men on trial at Nürnberg, these younger Farben employees having been designated as trustees by the Decartelization Unit of the American Military Government. Has Farben really been decartelized? And if the twenty-three leaders are acquitted or given nominal sentences, what will prevent them, when the occupation ends, if not sooner, from resuming control over the plants which their subordinates are at present operating?

It is significant that the three American officials appointed to direct the alleged decartelization of Farben in 1945, 1946, and 1947 either resigned in disgust or were forced out; each charged that his efforts to disperse the Farben cartel had been blocked by high War Department officials in Germany and Washington. The target of many of these criticisms was General William H. Draper, then in charge of German economic recovery as General Clay's deputy. And it was under his guidance that the American Military Government drew up the ordinance from which the three judges at Nürnberg derive their authority. The General—a Dillon Reed executive on leave of absence—has now moved to Washington. As Under Secretary of the Army he is the over-all authority on German economy; meanwhile the decartelization unit in Germany is being directed by General Draper's son-in-law, one Philip Hawkins. As an American correspondent remarked to me sarcastically, "The Hawkins appointment makes everything just dandy."

IT MIGHT be possible to dismiss all these suspicious circumstances as accident or coincidence if it were not for the fact that the Farben leaders now on trial were on intimate terms in pre-war years with some of America's foremost industrialists and also with various public officials, Senators, and Representatives. Dr. Hermann Schmitz, Farben chairman; Gorg von Schnitzler, organizer of Farben's espionage and propaganda system; Max Ilgner, who directed the spy organization; Fritz ter Meer and Rudolph Mann—all these men made many trips to America and stayed here for long periods arranging their cartel tie-ups and directing the subversive activities of their agents in the United States and Latin America. Others of the defendants, like Heinrich Hoerlein, August von Knieriem and Heinrich Gattineau, entertained their American industrial partners in Germany. There is no doubt that these old friendships constitute an embarrassment to many influential citizens of the United States. If the leaders of Farben hang for war crimes which include tie-ups made in America, the question will surely arise why no real punishment was ever meted out to those on this side of the Atlantic who played ball with them. If the Farben defendants are acquitted, there will be relief in certain quarters.

It is pertinent, in this connection, to note the fate of a group of close relatives of these men who were sent over here to become naturalized citizens and serve as Farben agents. Some of these men were indicted six years ago for some of the criminal acts they performed in this country— but they are still at large and untried. Hermann Schmitz himself was indicted here several times but never tried—one indictment against him was dismissed without explanation in October, 1946, by request of Attorney General Tom Clark.

My book, "Treason's Peace," was in the hands of the

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printer when Schacht was acquitted. It contains three last-minute comments:

> So out of Nürnberg has now emerged the judicial dictum and high precedent behind which immunity for the leaders of Farben may be made secure.
>
> It now has become an almost futile task either to indict or to try the Farben criminals. Unless an outraged public opinion—when the truth is revealed—will smash down the pattern of immunity—which has protected war criminals of two world wars.
>
> A verdict so bad that it outraged many of the German people themselves may give rise to the query whether the Nürnberg trial was arranged to provide a judicial warning of the hangman's noose to gangsters who may plan aggressive war in future, or to provide judicial safe havens for respectable criminals who created the gangsters thus condemned—a crowning example of the unwritten law of the Farben jungle.

Another such verdict may be preparing in the courtroom at Nürnberg. And "outraged public opinion" may show itself too late—when the "respectable" leaders of Farben have been freed.

# *Utility Bests Co-op*

BY LAWRENCE T. KING

*Richmond, Virginia*

FEARFUL of the growing interest in rural electric cooperatives among the farmers, the power interests of Virginia have massed their forces for a war to the finish against publicly owned utilities. Already the first battle has been won by the Virginia Electric Power Company, which enjoys virtual monopoly rights for the development and sale of electricity in the state. A brief news item buried in the inside pages of New York newspapers on December 20 read as follows:

> *Richmond, Va. (AP).*—A petition of the newly formed Chickahominy Electric Cooperative for authority to borrow federal funds to establish electric service in four Virginia counties was denied today by the State Corporation Commission. At the same time the commission issued an order compelling the Virginia Power Company to provide similar service in the co-op's territory.

Behind that brief dispatch is an interesting story. The Chickahominy Electric Cooperative was formed last fall by a group of Tidewater farmers led by A. N. Hofmeyer of Charles City County. For fifteen years Hofmeyer and his neighbors had been petitioning Vepco for power. Always they were told, "Next year, perhaps." Finally they decided to take matters into their own hands. They had read of the successful formation of power co-ops in other parts of the state. Why not have one in their section? The Rural Electrification Administration in Washington was called on for advice. A field representative whom it sent down made a survey and told the farmers that a co-op seemed to be the only solution.

With Mr. Hofmeyer largely responsible for keeping people's interest at fever pitch, mass-meetings were held in James City, Charles City, and New Kent counties. Residents of these counties and of adjoining Hanover County, having long wanted electric service, rallied enthusiastically behind the projected co-op. Early in September a group of farmers applied for a charter of incorporation as the Chickahominy Electric Cooperative, and it was granted on September 19.

A week later the farmers met in the little Tidewater town of Toano to organize the cooperative. Vepco, meanwhile, had been keeping track of developments, and when the meeting opened, C. P. Spellman, director of rural electrification for the company, and E. G. Kidd, Richmond manager, were on hand. They had come prepared with charts, maps, and statistical data to persuade the gathering that the Chickahominy Electric Cooperative was not needed since Vepco had already drawn up plans to extend its power lines to the Tidewater region.

Mr. Hofmeyer, however, had heard that story before, and he said to the company representatives: "We're frankly afraid that unless we go ahead and organize you'll put in just enough private power lines to block our installations. We're trying to get power for the whole area, not just those portions close to the private lines." Only when a guaranty for power supply "was in black and white," he said, would the co-op halt its preparations for installing its own lines.

The company's next step was to block the co-op's petition to the State Corporation Commission for authority to negotiate a $279,000 loan from the Rural Electrification Administration. The state law on power cooperatives requires operating expenses to be met from current revenues, and Vepco charged that the Chickahominy co-op was unable "to operate on a self-liquidating basis." It also stressed the section of the law which authorizes cooperatives only in areas where commercial electricity is

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not available, and contended that it had planned to give service in the Tidewater area long before the farmers formed their co-op.

Half a dozen witnesses were introduced by the farmers' counsel, all of whom testified that they had been seeking service from Vepco for years. And all said that once the cooperative was formed, agents of Vepco immediately knocked at every door in the area to assure farmers that electric service soon would be initiated.

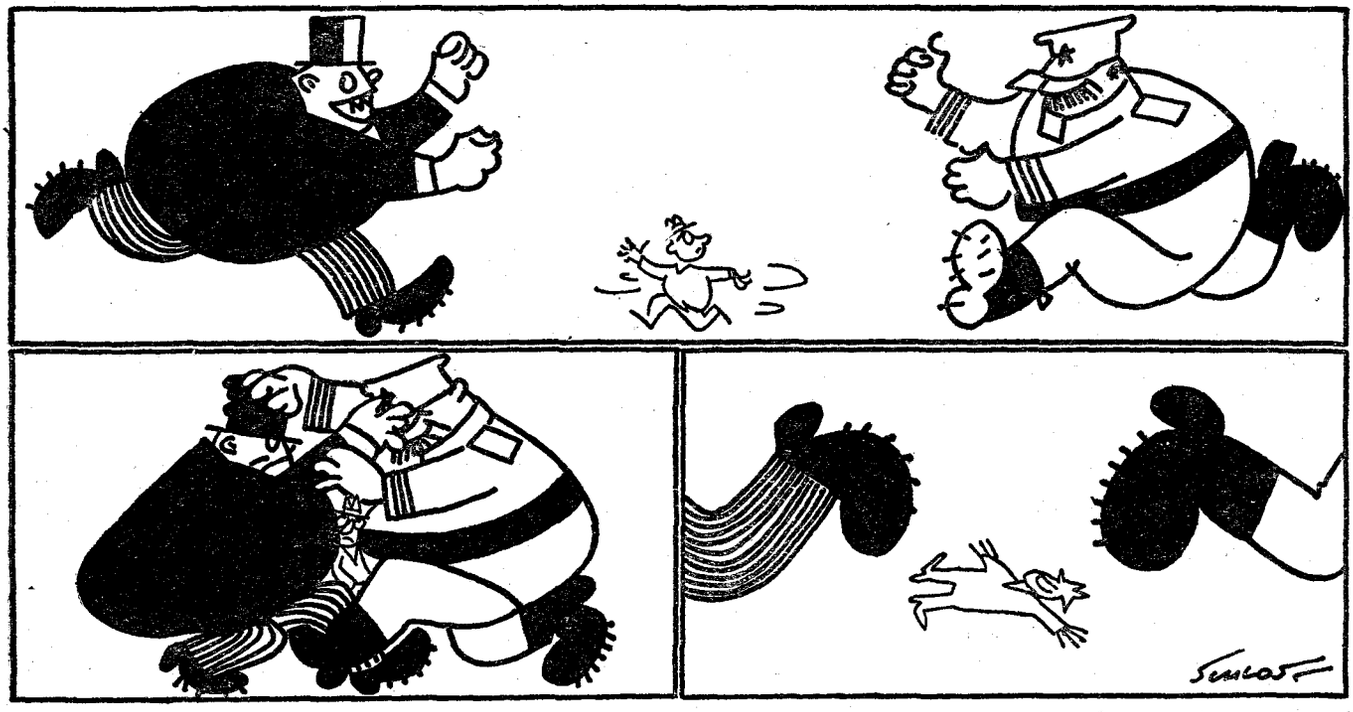
The REA field representative who had been called in to advise the co-op contradicted the assertions of the power company that the co-op could not be run on a solvent basis. He had helped organize dozens of cooperatives, but apparently his testimony carried little weight with the State Corporation Commission.

The true reason for Vepco's sudden interest in the Tidewater area was revealed when W. E. Wood, executive vice-president, took the stand. Asked by the co-op's counsel why Vepco had suddenly decided to accelerate its work in the four counties, Mr. Wood said that demands from that area had become "more vocal." "Isn't it true," he was asked, "that it was the REA that built the fire under you to get this work started?" "They helped," he replied. He admitted under cross-examination that his company was "always alert to any opportunities that would keep REA out of our territory."

Supporters of the cooperative movement in Virginia were shocked when the commission ruled that Chickahominy failed to meet the statutory requirements of the Virginia Electric Cooperative Act in that its service charge, as set forth in its petition, "will produce an income insufficient to maintain the property of the applicant in sound physical and financial condition to render adequate and sufficient service." All of the state's fifteen power cooperatives have incurred operating deficits at some time or another during their existence, but all are now in sound financial shape, and the Corporation Commission's approval of their petitions for REA loans has been justified. Why, then, this sudden about-face in the Chickahominy case?

The answer is to be found in the past and present policies of the Virginia Electric Power Company. Vepco had no serious rival in the field of power development until co-ops began springing up throughout the state. Hundreds of square miles of rural territory had never been touched by power lines and thousands of families were without electricity, but Vepco evidently figured they could wait. Content with its already large profits, it saw no reason to spend millions on an expansion program. Not until the REA had facilitated the formation of fifteen power co-ops in Vepco's territory was the company aroused from its lethargy.

What the state's power monopoly is capable of doing when it *is* aroused has been demonstrated by the ease with which it induced the Corporation Commission to kill the Chickahominy Electric Cooperative. And now it is mapping an all-out drive against the entire electric-cooperative movement in Virginia. Representatives of three power co-ops have reported to the Virginia Rural Electric Cooperative Association that rural extension work in their areas has already been launched by Vepco. The private company is now prepared to compete against cooperatives throughout the state, with the avowed intention of driving them out of business. It is of course looking forward to the day when it will again be the sole dispenser of electric power in Virginia.



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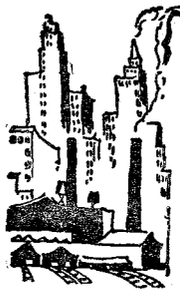

# EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Profits on Parade

FOR some weeks 1947 corporate reports have been filling the financial columns, and it is now possible to present a fairly detailed picture of what was, profit-wise, a banner year for American business. Earnings of all corporations are estimated at $28 billion before taxes and $17 billion after taxes—an all-time record. Manufacturing industries appear to have done particularly well as a group, a fact demonstrated by the excellent preliminary survey published in the National City Bank's *Monthly Letter* for March.

Here is the summary provided by this authoritative source of the earnings of 960 leading manufacturing corporations:

| | *1946* | *1947* |
|---|---|---|
| Net income after taxes.. | $ 2,131,578,000 | $ 3,202,164,000 |
| Increase ..... | | 50.2 per cent |
| Net worth on Jan. 1 ... | 17,105,668,000 | 18,744,164,000 |
| Return on net worth.... | 12.5 per cent | 17.1 per cent |

As the National City Bank points out, exceptions to the rule of boundless prosperity are hidden in such aggregates. A good many individual corporations, as well as one or two industries, lagged behind in the profits parade: 23 per cent of the companies included in the survey earned less in 1947 than in 1946; 5 per cent actually ended in the red. Such facts, of course, also tend, in an aggregate picture, to understate the experiences of more fortunate concerns.

Of the twenty-seven industrial groups listed, only aircraft manufacturing showed a deficit. Eighteen rubber companies earned 10 per cent less than in 1946—an exceptionally good year for them—but all other groups enjoyed increases. In the case of the baking, beverage, and drug industries this increase was below 10 per cent. However, even if these groups made comparatively less progress than others, they have little to grumble about: all three recorded a percentage return on net worth well above the average of 17.1.

Lack of space forbids reproduction of the complete summary, but data for nine of the leading groups can be given:

| *No. of companies* | *Industrial group* | *Percentage increase in 1947 profits over 1946* | *1947 percentage return on net worth* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 47 | Misc. food products .... | 39.0 | 22.0 |
| 35 | Cotton goods ..... | 83.7 | 40.7 |
| 55 | Other textiles ..... | 36.8 | 27.0 |
| 36 | Paper and pulp ..... | 88.5 | 21.2 |
| 39 | Chemicals ..... | 24.4 | 17.3 |
| 21 | Petroleum ..... | 69.1 | 15.5 |
| 36 | Iron and steel ..... | 57.7 | 11.3 |
| 39 | Electrical and radio..... | 283.0 | 15.3 |
| 55 | Automobiles and parts... | 581.0 | 24.9 |

The *Monthly Letter* gives the following reasons for these results: (1) Absence of labor disputes permitting uninterrupted production at high levels. (This was particularly a factor in the phenomenal increases reported by the electrical and automobile industries.) (2) Removal of price controls late in 1946, making possible quicker adjustments to rising cost and a widening of profit margins. (3) "Windfall" inventory gains resulting from steadily rising prices. (4) Repeal of the excess-profits tax, the full benefits of which only became apparent in 1947.

In further comment the author of the *Monthly Letter* follows the example of many corporation executives in adopting a somewhat defensive attitude. He writes:

> No doubt the figures on corporate earnings will continue to be denounced by many people as "excessive," "extortionate," and the like. . . . Without attempting to justify profits in all individual cases, it is significant that so far as the over-all total is concerned a $17 billion total corporate net income would be but 8.5 per cent of last year's national income of $203 billion. In pre-war years of active business the ratio was 9.6 per cent in 1929, 6.4 per cent in 1937, and 9.1 per cent in 1944. The foregoing is by no means intended as a "whitewash" of all business pricing policies, but the conditions that give rise to unusual profits should be understood.

One such condition, on which the National City Bank lays particular stress, is the inclusion in profits of inventory gains, which according to the Department of Commerce account for about $5 billion of the $28 billion (before taxes) earned by all corporations. Such gains, it is suggested, are merely phantom profits which could be rapidly wiped out by a sharp fall in prices. The bank omits to note, however, that many leading companies are reporting net profits after setting aside special reserves to meet just such a contingency. For instance, Armour and Company, the meat-packers, as the C. I. O.'s *Economic Outlook* points out in its latest issue, states its 1947 profits at $20.5 million *after* providing $9½ million to take care of possible future inventory losses. To assess the value of this phantom-profit plea, it would be necessary to know just how total inventory reserves compare with inventory profits.

Another point made by the *Monthly Letter* is that corporations seeking to replace or add to their plants must spend far more than before the war and so face the problem of raising new capital. The low state of the Stock Exchange makes it difficult to sell new shares, and it is considered undesirable to rely too much on borrowing. Consequently, corporations must earn large profits so as to be able to finance their expansion programs. It seems to me that this argument involves an intertwining of vicious circles. To earn enough money for its investment needs, the steel industry raises its prices and so increases capital costs for many other industries, which then feel obliged to boost their prices and profits.

It is true enough that the sale of equity shares is difficult at present. But I think we have to ask whether investors might not be more enthusiastic about subscribing to new shares if directors were more generous with dividends. Of the $17 billion of corporate profits after taxes in 1947, less than 40 per cent was distributed to stockholders. And another thing: how can investors be expected to show enthusiasm about buying common stocks when business men and the financial press constantly cry "stinking fish" and tell them that corporate prosperity is an illusion?

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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## AN OPEN LETTER TO *PRAVDA*

BY STEPHEN SPENDER

FROM time to time the Soviet critics interrupt their routine injunctions to Soviet artists to turn art into "artillery," and their attacks on those who do not do so, in order to direct their attention to artists abroad. Thus the recent attacks on Picasso and Matisse have been followed by an attack in *October* by I. Anisimov on many Western writers who are not considered either near-Communists or effective apologists for Soviet communism. In this article, whose vocabulary seems to have been disinterred from those speeches in which Hitler made his excursions into the field of art criticism, contemporary British, French and American writers are discussed.

The particular labels reserved for myself are that I "lack all conviction" and have the "jitters." This is almost praise when compared with the phrases employed to describe some of my friends and colleagues: "religious obscurantism" (the Sitwells and Evelyn Waugh), "mystical rubbish" (Graham Greene), "apocalyptic frenzy," "anti-Communist hysteria in the name of so-called free art," etc., etc., for others.

Of course, if it were a question of replying to Mr. Anisimov's literary judgments, it would not be worth doing at all. To illustrate this critic's qualifications to discuss contemporary literature, one need only quote his opinion that T. S. Eliot's "The Waste Land," published in 1922, is a "new poem . . . full of despair and prophecies of war and perdition." Such ignorance is as grotesque to most of the world as it would be to Russians if I were to quote Alexander Blok's "The Twelve" as a newly published poem typical of Stalinist Russia in 1948.

I reply therefore for other reasons than literary ones. Firstly, to answer the charge that I have ceased to be a "progressive." By this you mean, of course, that I am not on the side of the East against Western Europe and America, and that I do not write about the Hungarian and Bulgarian and Czech republics as I did about the Spanish one. But in politics I have always been on the side of the victims and not of the oppressors. Thus from 1929 onward I was on the side at first of the unemployed who were victims of the economic depression, then of the victims of fascism in Germany, then of the Spanish Republicans. But in 1947 and 1948, in visits to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, I saw enough of the attitude of the Czechs toward their Hungarian and German minorities, and of the Hungarians toward their political ones, to make me realize that in both these countries, for bad or for good reasons, the so-called democratic and progressive forces had accepted an oppressive role.

Today there are far more victims in the world than there were in 1929, 1933, or 1948. But there is a distinction between the world before 1945 and the world today: before 1945 the struggle against fascism had produced a situation in which the Western and Eastern great powers were for very diverse reasons on the side of the victims against the tyrants, of the anti-fascists against the fascists. Today there is only the most transparent pretense that the great powers pursue anything but power politics. The name of democracy is abused by all the great powers, in the East and the West, as a protection of their own interests. Thus the Anglo-Americans pretend that they are protecting a "majority" in Greece against the Greek leftists, disturbers of the "peace"; while the Communists in Eastern Europe pretend that they are protecting a Communist "people's majority" against a "reactionary" minority. The fact that all these arguments are perversions of the truth is serious enough. What is more serious is that, even if these arguments are true, such reasoning would be a perversion of democracy. For democracy is not the rule of a few who blandly pretend, to the majority, that they—the few—are the majority: nor even is it the tyranny of a genuine majority over a genuine minority. On the contrary, it is nothing less than the protection of the rights of the minority, from the group right down to the separate individual, within the will of the majority.

I do not blame the politicians altogether for the fact that since the war they have increased the vast hordes of the "displaced," the dispossessed, the "transferred," the prisoners who cannot for one reason or another be "returned," even the number of "puppet" and prisoner governments. Perhaps if there had been the least good-will left in the organized political world, the tragic problem of the "displaced persons" might have been solved, for this was outside the sphere of conflicting interests, or could easily have been made so. However, I do not wish to accuse the politicians. To an extent which overpowers them they are themselves victims of what are supposed to be national interests—which are really based on calculations as to the resources of industry, wealth, armaments, within a country, calculations which have less and less to do with human beings, except in so far as human beings are themselves part of the potential of war in armies. In the minds of the politicians, almost imperceptibly, power, industrial potential, or political influence has secretly come to mean the "majority." Today by "majority" politicians mean the atom bomb, the Marshall Plan; or the Communist Party and the secret police within a country, backed up from outside by the Red Army.

Yet within this situation it becomes more and more important that some people should speak for this unfortunate humanity, this growing number of victims within the conflicts of power politics, victims who are so close to the anxiety in the hearts of millions of people that perhaps these victims of our time are its real majority. Unfortunately

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—as I see it—the intellectuals, the writers and thinkers, are the disinterested group within our society on whom the burden of speaking for humanity falls. I say "unfortunately" because I do not think that the task of having to save civilization is as enviable a one as the task of simply being it in works of creative imagination. Nor, even now, do I think that every intellectual is called on to have a social conscience. On the other hand, when I see the writers who are conscious of such a need turning away from humanity and withdrawing into the isolation of mysticism, or equally when I see them adopting the facile solution of denouncing the power politics of the system which is not theirs and accepting that of their own, I feel with you that the greatest shame attaches to the intellectuals of our time. Only, unlike you, I think that a full measure of that shame is shared by the Soviet writers who accept the orders of the politicians.

An excuse offered for and by the Soviet writers is that Russia has quite different standards from the West and must not be judged by European standards. If this is so, it can only be that Russian communism has cut Russian literature off from the rest of the world far more effectively than czarism ever did. Because if there were ever any writers in the world who taught that it was the duty of the literary artist to study the effects of a social system upon the victims of that system—the outcasts, the prisoners in Siberia, the unrespectable—these were Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. To compare "The Insulted and Injured" or "Resurrection" with the contemporary, officially approved, documentary, social-realist novel of a Soviet writer is like comparing a story told from the deepest experience of human beings and reaching back to the deepest springs of human charity with the presentation of a case put up by a small-town lawyer who knows that he will not have to bother about anyone disputing the truth of his one-sided picture, since the opposing lawyer has been put in jail.

I am aware of the Marxist theories of criticism, based on the idea that all art springs from a class point of view. This is useful as an interpretation of art; as a recipe for writing it is responsible for the disasters of "social realism." Even if all art presents a social myth, and thus has a political aspect, nevertheless it is a great mistake to think that art is simply a branch of politics, to be dictated, directly or indirectly, by politicians. One can argue that Shakespeare created myths arising from the history of his time, particularly the myth of the individualist Renaissance hero and man of action. But to say this is very different from saying that Shakespeare represented the political interests of the court of Queen Elizabeth. For if there had been a state-directed Elizabethan syndicate of writers or a Mr. Zhdanov at the court of Elizabeth, they would have rapped Shakespeare over the knuckles, not only for the caricature of Lord Cecil in Polonius, but still more for foreseeing the catastrophes of the post-Elizabethan age. They would have approved of "Henry V," and objected to "Hamlet" and "King Lear." In other words, if political direction had guided Elizabethan literature, England would have been deprived of that instinctive political awareness—a kind of sixth sense within its national life—which is the Shakespearean tradition.

Ultimately, a country living its national life within its system is dependent on men. The politician is one kind of man and the artist is another kind of man with a specially developed sensibility. For the people who are directing the state to prevent the artist from seeing things which might inconvenience politicians is incipient madness: it is depriving the nation of an organ of its sensibility. When politicians demand of artists that art should become artillery, it is as if the pilot of an aeroplane were to demand of the radio operator that he stop receiving messages and use his radio as a machine-gun. And the whole tradition of Russian literature shows that this is as true of Russia as of any other country in the world.

## A NOTE BY THE WAY

THERE'S a fifth column at work in this country which should be investigated by the loyalty board and especially by those who are bored with the loyalty board. This fifth column is operating quite openly; and thousands of fellow-travelers are getting instruction and encouragement in underground activities from subversive agents who pose

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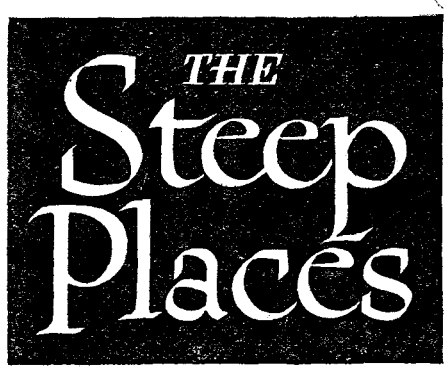


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as respectable business men and are well supplied with weapons and "know-how." It is international in scope; it flies all colors, the better to confuse you, my dear; it is riddled with elements of foreign origin; and it is so well organized that I for one feel sure that the country will go over to it en masse when the time comes. A million well-laid plots are scheduled to break out one after another, beginning very soon, and it is confidently predicted by seasoned observers that the movement cannot be stopped until it has run its riotous course. J. Parnell Thomas hasn't a chance—in spite of the fact that the members of this fifth column do not hesitate to show themselves, and even flaunt their identity with an air of genuine innocence that puts all "innocents" to shame. Once the revolution starts, the army will be powerless, and the air is already palpably in possession of the enemy. The atom bomb might as well never have been invented.

I am able to reveal all this because last week I wandered into a dress rehearsal of the fifth column, which was disguised as the International Flower Show. I joined the party on the spot. A thousand tulips can't be wrong, and the pink propaganda of a flowering crab does more than Truman, Wallace, or Stalin can to justify God's ways to man. I have decided to turn over a new leaf—and the world, for all I care, can go straight to azaleas. M. M.

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## The Days of '89

*THE COMING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.* By Georges Lefebvre. Translated by R. R. Palmer. Princeton University Press. $3.

PROFESSOR LEFEBVRE'S "Quatre-vingt-neuf" was published in France in 1939 as part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the French Revolution. The celebration was nipped in the bud, and what was left in stock of this book was destroyed by order of the Vichy government; so that the book is hard to get even in the original. But there is no need to find an excuse for this English version. M. Lefebvre's book is simply the best introduction to the study of the French Revolution available anywhere. It does not take us beyond the October Days of 1789, but M. Lefebvre has managed to compress into the briefest space a well-balanced account of what the textbooks still call the "causes of the French Revolution," an analysis of the interplay of social, political, and economic forces—and human beings—that overthrew the monarchy of the old regime, and a thoughtful conclusion assessing the importance of 1789 for us in the twentieth century.

M. Lefebvre is seventy-four. He belongs to the same generation as the late Albert Mathiez. He grew to manhood in the critical nineties, when the ideas and sentiments of the French left were hardened into rigidity during the struggle in defense of the republic. Yet this book, like its author's scholarly monograph on the peasants of the Nord and his advanced textbook on Napoleon, has none of the marks that stand out from the work of good Republicans like Aulard and Mathiez—none of their dogmatism, none of their hatred for those who opposed the Revolution, none of their partisan acidity, none of their final simplifications of spotted reality to further untarnished ideal. M. Lefebvre's detachment is not inhuman. He is on the left, not on the right, and certainly not in the almost impossible center. He is frankly moved by the ideals of 1789, frankly a partisan. But he can face with a clear mind and eye those who disagree with him, and thus outline justly their position as well as his own.

Notably, M. Lefebvre has been able to get away from the absurd position most of the good Republican defenders of the Revolution had felt obliged to assume: that the Revolution of 1789 was altogether spontaneous, altogether unplanned, the almost unanimous rising of a virtuous and oppressed people against an intolerable despotism. M. Lefebvre knows that this revolution, like later ones, was planned, organized, put across by leaders handling a determined minority, and carried out against the inertia of the majority. He clearly does not feel that to acknowledge and analyze this planning and organization detracts in the least from the honor in which we should hold the men of 1789.

Professor R. R. Palmer's brief introduction really introduces, and makes the work of the reviewer almost superfluous.

CRANE BRINTON

## The Unitary Man

*THE NEXT DEVELOPMENT OF MAN.* By Lancelot Law Whyte. Henry Holt and Company. $3.50.

WE are already moving toward the "next development" in the history of mankind, according to the optimistic conclusion of the author. This new and revolutionary step is made possible by the creation of a "unitary," as distinct from "disassociated," man. Plato, it seems, was primarily responsible for creating disassociated man. He

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substituted "static" concepts of reality for the sense of process which characterized the thought of Heraclitus and thereby created a sense of inner conflict between man's will and his inclinations. The conflict is defined by the Pauline phrase, "There is a law in my members which wars against the law that is my mind." Under the influence of Platonism and Christianity man lost the sense of his wholeness and found "a substitute in the deliberate cultivation either of new sensations or of the moral will."

To define all life's aspects, natural and cultural, in terms of process will, it seems, heal this inner cleavage in man. It will in addition overcome the ambiguity of man's partial involvement in natural necessity and his partial transcendence over nature. For it will teach him that "there is nothing arbitrary in free-will and nothing constraining in natural law." The new view of man will break every log jam in social relations, as well as in the inner life of man. For when "unitary man thinks in process concepts" he will "achieve his own development by facilitating the general development," and every form of parochial thought will "become ineffective and thereby go out of fashion."

In the text Russia is hailed as being "nearest to the unitary system" because it "can form a part of the world system without essential change." This sweeping commendation of the Russian system is partly qualified in the author's introduction to the American edition. He thinks he has gone too far in this judgment but is sure that every other aspect of contemporary history tends to validate his basic thesis. How the conflicts in India and Palestine and the tension in Europe between Russia and the West present evidence for the gradual emergence of "unitary man" is not made clear.

It might be added that though salvation for man seems to depend upon the rigorous definition of life as process, without recourse to concepts of "permanence," we are told that "truth for unitary man is a form imbedded in the whole complex of processes organizing them." Could the salvation of man really depend upon a new definition of man and history which supposedly turns its back on all ideas of changelessness in favor of concepts of process but finds the ultimate truth in a "form" which underlies all change? In short, the critical acclaim which this book has received in Britain is inexplicable to me.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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THROUGH the Schocken Library series the American public will have an opportunity to acquaint itself with Jewish classical literature as well as with the significant works of contemporary Jewish authors. One of the not unwelcome provisos of the series is that the books chosen be brief. In this respect the publisher is obviously continuing the policy of the Schocken *Verlag,* whose beautifully printed little volumes in German and Hebrew were one of the delights of German book-making in the pre-Hitler days.

To judge from the first five books, the enterprise is off to a good start. The small, attractive volumes show the taste and care for detail which helped make the reputation of Schocken. The titles are intelligently chosen, and the translations, occasionally superb, are always competent.

One of the most intriguing books in the series is "The Rabbi of Bacherach," the historical novel begun by Heine in his twenties and abandoned after the completion of three chapters. This fragment is in its way as teasing as the unfinished "Kubla Khan." What kind of novel might a poet and prose writer of Heine's genius have finally produced? The theme of the novel is equally haunting—Jewish life in medieval Germany, here for the first time receiving fictional treatment in German.


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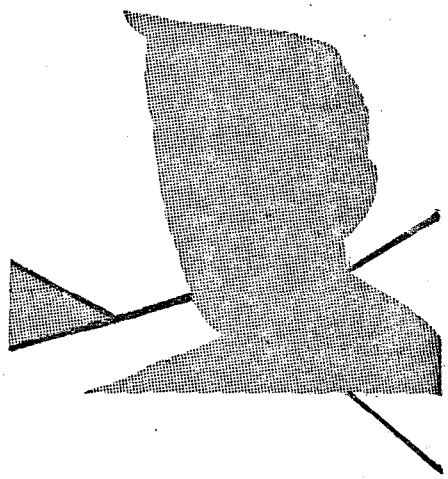

HENRY Wallace

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VANGUARD


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The existing chapters indicate the richness of the canvas. The scene at the Passover feast where the rabbi discovers a Christian corpse planted under his table—a favorite method of manufacturing a blood-ritual charge to precipitate a massacre—has a moody and anguished beauty. The description of the ghetto in thirteenth-century Frankfort to which the rabbi flees with his wife has brilliance as well as a wealth of accurate detail.

Heine's preoccupation with "The Rabbi" is evident from his correspondence. His references to the subject have an earnest, almost devotional tone rarely found in Heine without the qualification of mockery. Of his research he writes, "More and more the spirit of Jewish history is revealed to me, and this spiritual armor surely will serve me well in time to come." Two months before Heine renounces Judaism to further his career, he still writes: "This unselfish work will also be the most solid"; and even two days after his baptism he stresses that "the writing of it is a useful, God-pleasing deed." Nevertheless, whatever might have been his inner compulsion to atone or to explain, Heine soon dropped the "somber martyr-song" he had planned.

Yet despite the power of the beginning it is unlikely that "The Rabbi" would ever have developed into the "God-pleasing deed" which was Heine's avowed objective. His concept is tainted with betrayal from the outset. The supposedly saintly rabbi's abandonment of his flock without so much as a word of warning is glossed over cavalierly by Heine in an unconvincing phrase. Unconsciously the rabbi becomes a more shocking figure than the Spanish apostate he meets in Frankfort. Heine, who wrote of his own desertion, "I assure you if the laws had permitted the theft of silver spoons I should not have been baptized," cannot keep himself from vitiating even the ideal rabbi with the characteristic frailty of his circle of emancipated Jewish intellectuals.

The autobiography of Solomon Maimon, the eighteenth-century Polish Talmudist, who passionately sought "enlightenment" in the culture of Western Europe, is in time, style, and mood as remote from the Heine novel as the crude, self-made scholar was from the subtle poet. But the fundamentals of Jewish experience link both the works and the authors. One of Maimon's earliest memories is of a blood-ritual libel. A local peasant had planted a sack with a Christian corpse in his grandfather's house. Maimon's struggle to escape the squalor and bigotry of a poor Polish ghetto marks one of the first swells of a wave whose crest Heine rode high.

In its mixture of impudence, candor, and shrewdness Maimon's autobiography has some of the naive aplomb of Cellini's admissions. However, though Maimon has more than a touch of the rogue, his adventures are directed to such ends as the study of European languages and the acquisition of the forbidding learning of the Gentile world. Like Heine, Maimon considered bettering his lot by embracing Christianity; he balked at the last moment out of devotion not to Judaism but to "reason." So numerous were his rational objections that the pastor who considered his offer of baptism said to him, "You are too much of a philosopher to be able to become a Christian." Its vivid if sardonic picture of Jewish existence in Eastern Europe at the dawn of the "enlightenment" era makes this autobiography a historical record, as well as a human document, of genuine importance.

A glimpse of the unfamiliar world of Oriental Jewry is given in "From the Land of Sheba." This collection of the tales and legends of the Jews of Yemen is authentic folklore and has the freshness and charm inherent in such material. Yet even this ancient Jewish community, settled for centuries in the far south of the Arabian Peninsula, is not free from the perpetual torment of Zion—the drive to flee toward or from it. Among the simple Yemenite Jews the positive impulse is dominant. One of the most touching narratives in the book is an account of how a caravan of Yemenite Jews started out across the desert for Palestine. "The farewell was heartbreaking, less for the Jews, who hoped soon to follow us, than for our Arab neighbors, who knew that they would never see us again."

In "The Language of Faith," an anthology of Jewish prayers of all periods, the eternal spirit of the people, abstracted from time and place, is heard. The translations by Jacob Sloan and Olga Marx are on the whole extremely successful and constitute a real contribution to the appreciation of great Jewish religious utterance. The accompanying Hebrew texts are an added merit.

"Galut," a scholarly essay dealing with the concept of "exile" throughout Jewish history, is informative and penetrating. However, in the opinion of this reviewer, the Schocken Library will be


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well advised to keep its selection of academic studies to a minimum. It can perform a unique service by continuing to place its emphasis on Jewish creative writing. MARIE SYRKIN

## Japan Under MacArthur

*FALLEN SUN: A REPORT ON JAPAN.* By Noel F. Busch. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $2.50.

THERE have been many books about Japan in the past few years, and some of them have attempted to gather together the evidence of the impact of defeat and the American occupation. I reckon I have read them all, before or since my trip to Japan last year. Their authors all show a sense of the unprecedented drama of trying to democratize an autocratic system through the instrument of a conquering army; the difficulty arises in making a pattern of the contradictory pieces. To some it appears as a success story, to others as a sham. Most of them agree that it is a case of let's wait and see.

Mr. Busch, a *Life* reporter in Japan in 1946, presents three phases of the drama—the occupation, the character and attitude of the Japanese people, and the relation of Russia and communism to the future of Japan. He confesses that it is hard to judge the situation because it is a process of change, and he is not quite sure that what he saw is real. But on the whole he is both enthusiastic and optimistic over the achievements and the prospects.

My own experience supports him. Is the eagerness to learn democratic ways just a matter of practicing obedience to a conqueror? Might the Japanese not switch to the authoritarianism of the Communists if our "compulsory" democracy and free enterprise fail? He thinks that if we really succeed in establishing a working political and economic democracy it will stick, but that it is a gamble.

He pays the deserved tributes to General MacArthur and the Japanese people. He is correct, in my view, in interpreting the Japanese response as a desire to adopt better ways; he does not question Japanese sincerity; he thinks they are doing what seems to them the practical thing, and that if it works they will hold on to it as they held on to industrialism. The retention of the Japanese government and the Emperor, the teachability of a disciplined people, and the spirit of General MacArthur—these are the prime factors in this amazing experiment.

The section on the Japanese people adds nothing new, but it is essential to a rounded appraisal of the occupation. The concluding section consists of speculations on the relation of Japan and its future to the conflict between Russia and the United States.

Though Mr. Busch's evidence was gathered in 1946, it tallies on the whole with my observations in 1947. It should continue to be valid in 1948—until a long-delayed peace treaty starts Japan on its own way. My guess is that the optimists will then be vindicated.

ROGER BALDWIN

## Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

ART is, of course, a reading of experience, but until about eighty years ago it seemed to be unable to register its own proper experience: I mean that part of experience which has to do with the making of art itself. Even now, though we are relatively well accustomed to poems about the making of poetry (Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Valéry, Stevens) and novels about the problems of novel-writing (Gide and Joyce), we still find music (like Schoenberg's) about composing and pictures about painting (like cubism) rebarbative; and we complain about the over-intellectuality, aridity, abstruseness, lack of humanity, in these works. Only philistines talk about the lack of "humanity" in art—as if anything worthy of being considered a work of art could be un-human; yet when it comes to contemporary painting—and music—a good many otherwise enlightened people do become philistines, alas. And many may even complain about "un-human" abstruseness in connection with Arshile Gorky's newest paintings now on show at Julien Levy's (through March 20).

What is new about these paintings is the unproblematic voluptuousness with which they celebrate and display the processes of painting for their own sake. With this sensuous richness, which is a refined product of assimilated French tradition and his own personality as an artist, with all its strengths and weaknesses, Gorky at last arrives at himself and takes his place—awaiting him now for almost twenty years—among the very few contemporary American painters whose work is of more than national importance. Gorky has been for a long time one of the best brush-handlers alive, but he was unable until recently to find enough for his brush to say. Now he seems to have found that in celebrating the elements of the art he practices and in proclaiming his mastery


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over them. Unlike the classical cubists, Mondrian, or even Miró, he does not seek out problems of painting for his matter. Nor does he comment on the spirit of the times, answering its agitation with his own. On the face of it, Gorky is a complete hedonist, deeper in his hedonism than almost any French painter, and he has begun to paint with consistent success and largeness only after reconciling himself to the fact that his primary impulse to paint lies in the enjoyment of art itself. His art is not incisive—and I am afraid many will misunderstand it for this reason—but it is some of the most luscious, elegant, and mellifluous grand-style painting I have seen, and mixes a certain strength with all its softness and grace. If it still lacks fulness of body, it does not lack solidity and coherence. If certain canvases appear loose or thin, others attain real sonority and resonance and become monumental.

Gorky owes something to Matta's drawing, but he has exalted this ingredient, developing it with a plenitude of painterly qualities such as Matta himself appears incapable of. And he also owes something to Miró—but why not? Gorky's method is what the French call *tachisme*—"spotting," the adjustment of spots or isolated areas of color, usually against a more or less uniform background. Matisse is a *tachiste*, and so was Bonnard to some extent, but the source of the method as Gorky practices it is Miró, and it is because Miró is still so relatively new that Gorky appears to imitate him; in time the impression will fade. In one direction, I feel, Gorky himself has gone beyond Miró by identifying his background more closely with the picture's surface, the immediate, non-fictive plane on which the spots are placed. He does this by scumbling or washing in his pigment transparently over large areas, or by varying color in narrow gradations from one area to another, all of which brings the canvas forward by compelling us to notice its saturation, physical complexion, and flatness. Thus the "spots," which strike us first, seem indissolubly welded to the background on one and the same plane, instead of floating over it.

Gorky's forte is his draftsmanship, and his color is rather confined in its range and effect. Usually he keeps to one of two scales—black, blue, gray, white; or vermilion, red, rose, tan, ocher. In his two strongest pictures—"The Calendars" and "Agony"—the hotter scale is largely relied upon; in another, "Soft Night," which is perhaps the most interesting and promising if not quite the best picture present, the register is black, gray, and white. But yellow is predominant in the excellent "Pastoral," which is washed in like a water color; and an untitled small canvas in Mr. Levy's office, slightly timid but perfect within its timidity, is in blue, rose, black. Also to be noticed is the orange and tan "Plow and the Song." Gorky tends to favor horizontal or square formats, but he changes to the vertical in two impressive but uneven pictures, "Betrothal I" and "Betrothal II," which are similar in their general tonality and linearism. The second of these is marred by the surface-cutting sharpness and evenness with which its major forms are outlined; without that the picture would have had much greater firmness.

The weakness that accounts for Gorky's unsuccessful works is isolated and emphasized in an enormous drawing, also in Mr. Levy's office, in which we see how the artist's manual inspiration—that is, his really astounding gift as an automatic draftsman—will sometimes run away with the picture for lack of a central impulse or idea that would order the calligraphic details into a whole. Then the result will be a collection of inorganic and, often, repetitious details. Gorky should rely more on the movement of his whole arm rather than on that of his wrist or elbow alone.

But this is carping. The presence of six pictures as excellent as those named above in a show comprising some fifteen or sixteen items in all declares a remarkable rate of performance, especially in view of the very high level the artist sets himself. And Gorky, in my opinion, has still to paint his greatest pictures. Meanwhile he is already the equal of any painter of his own generation anywhere.

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## Records

*B. H. HAGGIN*

AMONG recent opera recordings is the English Decca set (ED-39, $15.75) of excerpts from Gluck's "Orfeo ed Euridice" performed by the artists of last year's Glyndebourne Festival production: Katherine Ferrier, contralto, Anne Ayars and Zoë Vlachopoulos, sopranos, the Glyndebourne Festival Chorus, and the Southern Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Fritz Stiedry. Considering the set by and for itself one can say that it offers some beautiful and moving passages of the opera, for the most part beautifully sung and played—the flaws being Miss Ferrier's English enunciation of Italian, Miss Vlachopoulos's acidulous tone and strong tremolo, occasional details—a stolidity here, an unconvincing tempo there—in Stiedry's conducting, a recorded sound in which everything is clear but the violins are without lustre. Comparing it with the old Columbia set one finds that the older performance has one point of enormous superiority in Alice Raveau's singing, in which one hears the voice and style of a great French dramatic singer, whereas Miss Ferrier's are those of a fine English oratorio singer. Raveau's singing, in fact, puts over some excessively slow tempos in

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a performance which is less well-knit than Stiedry's, and which is less clearly recorded. And I should mention that the two sets offer somewhat different selections of passages: for one thing the Columbia version includes the orchestral introduction to Act 2 and the first part of the ballet music, which the Decca omits; for another thing the Decca version includes more of the scene of Orfeo and Euridice.

In addition, RCA Victor has issued a volume of eighteenth-century French operatic arias that are moderately engaging, at least as sung by Maggie Teyte with excellent accompaniments by the orchestra under Morel (Set 1169, $4). Also Cetra-Soria has issued a volume (Set 104, $6.52) of Mozart arias, one of them originally intended for "Così Fan Tutte," the rest composed for concert performances by celebrated singers or for insertion in other composers' operas—for the most part agreeable routine products of the Mozart craftsmanship and examples of the Mozart style. They are beautifully sung by the Italian bass Italo Tajo, with good accompaniments by the Italian Radio Symphony under Mario Rossi; and the performances are well reproduced. And I have heard the Parlophone volume (Set P-54, $11.55) of older recordings of coloratura arias sung by Lina Pagliughi, soprano—most of them with impressive beauty of voice and style, a few with shrillness.

On a Decca single record (K-1466, $2.10) Miss Ferrier sings the *Che farò* aria from "Orfeo"—in English this time, and at the more usual pace—and *Art Thou Troubled?* from Handel's "Rodelinda" with the London Symphony under Sargent. And on an RCA Victor single (12-0067, $1.25), the *Che farò,* sung beautifully in Italian by Nan Merriman, is coupled with *Me voici dans son boudoir* from "Mignon," with Weissmann conducting the orchestra.

On other good Victor singles (each $1.25 now) are the lovely Romance of Marguerite from Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust," sung by Bampton with shrillness in the upper range, Pelletier conducting (12-0015); the Willow Song and Ave Maria from Verdi's "Otello," sung by Albanese, Weissmann conducting (11-9957); the King of Thule ballad and Jewel Song from Gounod's "Faust," sung by Steber, Morel conducting (11-9838); Micaela's aria from "Carmen" and *Addio del passato* from "La Traviata," sung by Albanese, Leinsdorf conducting the first, Weissmann the second, and the second torn a bit by Albanese's dramatic intensity (12-001); *Il balen* and *Per me ora fatale* from "Il Trovatore," sung by Warren with chorus and orchestra under Morel (11-9956).

On Columbia singles (likewise $1.25 each) are *O, Paradiso* from "L'Africaine," beautifully sung in Italian by young Richard Tucker with the Metropolitan Orchestra under Cooper, with *Cielo e mar* from "La Gioconda" on the reverse side (72399-D); and the Swallow Duet from "Mignon," sung by Risë Stevens and Pinza with the same orchestra under Cleva, with a duet from "La Gioconda" on the reverse side (72371-D)—the recorded sound a little sharp.

On a Decca single (K-1601, $2.10) are excerpts from the Nursery Scene of Musorgsky's "Boris Godunov," beautifully sung in all-too-clearly enunciated English by Derek Barsham, boy soprano, Gladys Palmer, contralto, and Norman Lumsden, bass, with the London Symphony under Stanford Robinson, and reproduced with the marvelous distinctness in space of the best English Decca recording. And I have heard a Parlophone single (PXO-1024, $2.10) with the late Richard Tauber's affected singing of *Dies Bildnis* from Mozart's *"Magic Flute"* and *O, wie ängstlich* from "The Seraglio" with the Vienna Philharmonic under Alwin.

## CONTRIBUTORS

STEPHEN SPENDER is the author of "Poems of Dedication," "Ruins and Visions," "European Witness," and other books. He is lecturing this year at Sarah Lawrence College.

CRANE BRINTON, professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "The Lives of Talleyrand," "The Anatomy of Revolution," and other books.

MARIE SYRKIN is the author of "Blessed Is the Match. The Story of Jewish Resistance."

ROGER BALDWIN is national director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

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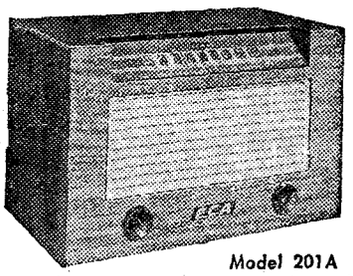

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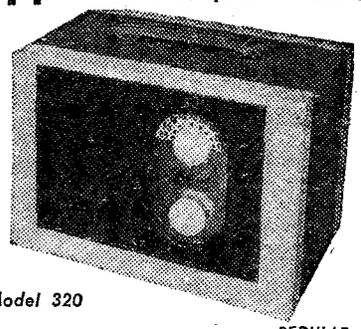

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# Letters to the Editors

## What Is Honesty . . .

*Dear Sirs*: James Wechsler's review of the Nieman Fellows' book, "Your Newspaper," in your issue of January 17, was a thorough job but not up to the standards of accuracy that one would expect of a professional journalist. Mr. Wechsler misrepresented the book in several important respects.

1. His review made it appear that the authors suggested labor unions as the chief source of support for independent newspapers. I am less appalled than he seems to be at the thought of labor newspapers. The "monstrous perversions of news" that Mr. Wechsler finds in them are perhaps no more monstrous than those in the profit-making press, and surely press freedom would not totter if labor made more use of it. But actually our book argued for another breed of cat entirely—popular-subscription newspapers sponsored by community committees which would be independent of any one group.

2. Speaking of our discussion of Russian news in the American press, Mr. Wechsler accused us of an "extraordinary" method of criticism. He implied that our criticism consisted entirely of counting up the number of favorable and unfavorable stories in one issue of the New York *Times*. Actually, as the review failed to mention, our extensive treatment of this subject included detailed analysis of specific *Times* stories, as well as the conclusions of a long-term study of Russian news in the *Times* which had been published in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

3. Mr. Wechsler was especially scornful of our criticism of certain reporters who, while covering a United Automobile Workers' convention, took part in the electioneering on the convention floor. This, it seems, constituted an attack on reporters' rights as citizens. It appears to be Mr. Wechsler's view that a reporter assigned to cover an event should be privileged to get into the act himself. We agree that there is no such thing as complete objectivity, but the reporters in question seem to us to have carried participation a little too far. Some of their copy distinctly shows their partisanship.

4. Mr. Wechsler was unable to find any "systematic political bias" in the Nieman Fellows' book, but that did not deter him from making certain innuendoes, such as his sarcastic tag line, "nothing is too good for the proletariat."

The review's confusions and distortions may perhaps be explained by the fact that Mr. Wechsler used the book chiefly as a springboard for attacking *PM*, where he used to work. The nine authors of "Your Newspaper" hold no brief for *PM*. They do hold a brief for honesty and fairness in reporting.

LEON SVIRSKY

Ossining, N. Y., February 27

## . . . in Reporting?

*Dear Sirs*: "Misrepresented" is a strong word in any newspaper. I don't want to prolong the post mortems, but for the benefit of those who came in late may I make these comments:

1. I wrote that the Niemanites "look hopefully to labor unions as a source of subsidy for independent newspapers." Mr. Svirsky deftly quotes me as saying that "the authors suggested labor unions as a *chief* source of support for independent newspapers" (italics mine). The fact is that on page 191 of the book the authors write that they would turn to "civic clubs, teachers' associations, labor unions, professional organizations, adult-educational groups, and the like" to support an independent newspaper. Mr. Svirsky ignores the crucial question I raised—whether union support could be enlisted without official or implied commitments that would inhibit the newspaper.

2. Mr. Svirsky still won't tell us the date of the sample exhibit of the New York *Times* which is one of the few pieces of original analysis in the section on Russian news. He also implies that the authors summarized at length the findings of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*. In fact, that survey is summarized in seven lines. And once again he ducks the question as to whether the Niemanites are objecting to interpretative Russian news—or whether they are asking for optimistic interpretations.

3. I said a labor reporter should be judged by his copy. I pointed out that the Niemanites criticized one labor journalist for wearing a Reuther button. Mr. Svirsky now says that "some of their copy distinctly shows their partisanship." His letter, like the book, still offers no documentation.

4. The tag line, as I indicated in the review, was Heywood Broun's, not mine. I miss the sinister innuendo Mr. Svirsky found in it. This reminds me: I meant to point out before that one of the things most lacking in the "blueprint for a better newspaper" was a sense of humor.

I said I was especially disturbed by the proposal that the model newspaper explore the "motives" of people in the news. Mr. Svirsky's reading of my review neatly illustrates the point. The fact is that *PM* was a laboratory in which many of the ideas embodied in the Nieman book and presented as novel recommendations had actually been tested. I still don't know why Mr. Svirsky and his colleagues shied away from a candid discussion of that experiment.

Anyway, I hope the model newspaper won't glibly question the "fairness" and "honesty" of those who write letters to the editor.

JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, March 8

## A Home and a Future

*Dear Sirs:* Readers of Carey McWilliams's article, The Strike at Di Giorgio's, in your issue of February 28, will be interested, I think, to see the following letter which I received a few days ago from John Gorman, a hard-working and industrious migrant—and father of four children—who has been walking the 19½-mile picket line at Di Giorgio's since last October:

All my life I have worked hard so that some day I and my family could have a home and a future. I came to California two and a half years ago. Upon arrival I got employment at Di Giorgio farms. My wife and four children set up housekeeping in two tin shacks in the farm migratory camp near Arvin. Through great sacrifice we were able to send two children to a nearby school each day. Though poorly clothed and fed, our children still continue to go to school.

I do not want charity. I want to work to provide the proper care for my family and enjoy life as other American people do. I don't want to see my children poorly fed and clothed and living in a small tin house. Since the government released control of migratory camps, the big associated farms have gained possession of the camps. Our rent has doubled, our

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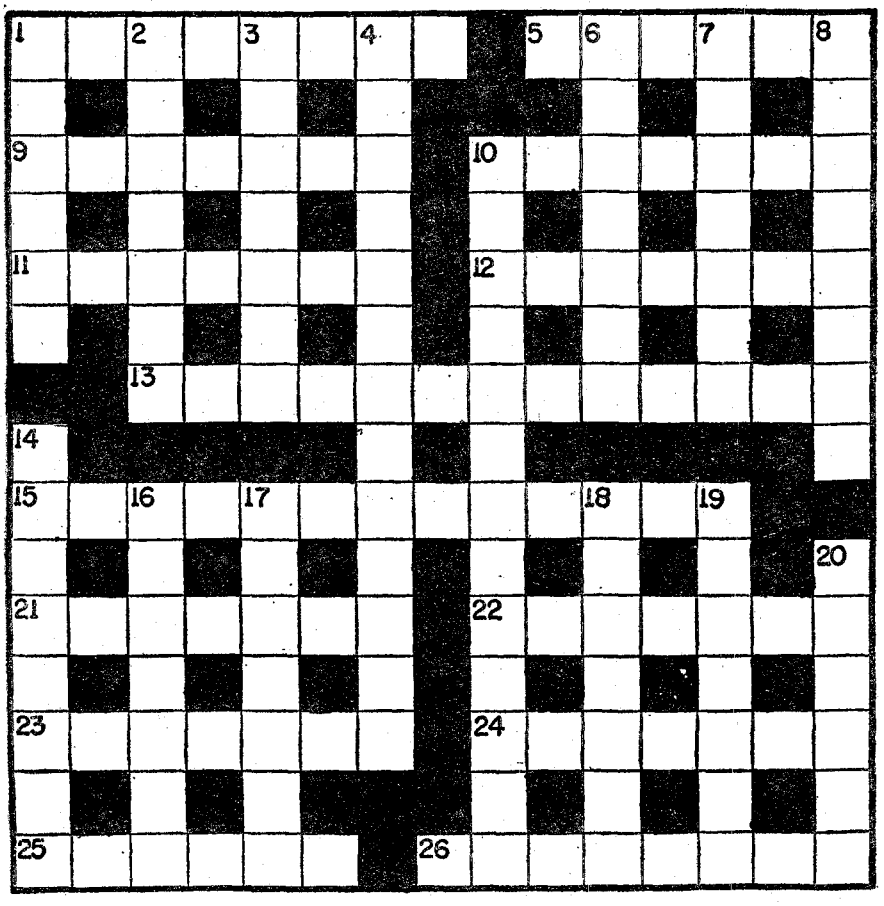
# Crossword Puzzle No. 255

By FRANK W. LEWIS



### ACROSS

1 Seclusion of an old suite. (8)
5 Your weapon and mine, and placed under arms. (6)
9 Painful things—i. e., a song. (7)
10 We end with a complete defeat, to become useless. (4, 3)
11 Little Italian is needed to name a high wind. (7)
12 Nothing at dinner, for example (but something at breakfast?) (7)
13 He likes to hold hands across the table. (6, 7)
15 Racing yacht, perhaps? (13)
21 No drain for a kind of dog. (7)
22 Study Musso, if you want to get to lead. (7)
23 Ends after little interest is shown. (7)
24 Turned over, but sounds tacked-on (7) (Hyphenated.)
25 and 26. Novel way of referring to "crews." (4, 2, 3, 5)

### DOWN

1 Stuck, by gum! (6)
2 Detroit gridder and Chicago baseball player. (4, 3)
3 The air of a Marine shows he fought on its shores. (7)
4 Sets gold, mined from displacements. (13)
6 True mountain agent? (7)
7 Pointer in the way of a compound. (7)
8 Nominal. (8)
10 The sort which go, go upon sickness. (8, 5)
14 Traitor has a stoic air. (8)
16 No longer a youngster. (7)
17 When it's broken, it's torn, too. (7)
18 Not very successful, unless they find, as well. (7)
19 Spoils. (7)
20 Where Maud was on a summer's day. (6)

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 254**

ACROSS:—1 FRAGMATIST; 6 BATH; 10 TATTLER; 11 INITIAL; 12 ENTRANCE; 13 LLAMA; 15 FRANC; 17 UNSETTLED; 19 EXTRA PAIR; 21 DECOR; 23 WHICH; 24 SOLITARY; 27 RIG-VEDA; 28 IMAGINE; 29 SURE; 30 SINGLETREE.

DOWN:—1 PATE; 2 ANTENNA; 3 MOLAR; 4 TARANTULA; 5 SLICE; 7 ABIGAIL; 8 HOLLANDERS; 9 VIOLATED; 14 AFTERWARDS; 16 COACHMEN; 18 STROLLING; 20 TRIGGER; 22 CARRIER; 24 SPAHI; 25 TRADE; 26 BEDE.

medical clinic has been taken away, and it has put me in an awful strain to pay rent now. But I worked hard and sacrificed a little bit more.

One day, while at work, a fellow asked me what I thought about the union. Well, I said, I really didn't know myself. But we must have something to give us a chance as other Americans, I said, with prices where they are and our rent doubled. He asked me to come to Arvin to a union meeting they hold every Thursday night. I went. I got a greater and clearer understanding of the union and the urgent importance it meant to people like myself. We went on strike at the Di Giorgio farm on October 1, 1947. I pray to God for victory for our union, so that I and many others may live an American way of life.

As chairman of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., I urge those who can contribute to do so *today* so that these men and women who are fighting for an expanding democracy in America will know that their fellow-citizens all over the country support them in their struggle for a better life. The Fund's address is 501 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

New York, March 2

## Another Bi-Racial Meeting

*Dear Sirs:* We're certainly glad to hear of the bi-racial legislative session held by North Carolina students, as described in Robert Morrison's article, Revolution in North Carolina, in your issue of January 17. But to say that it was the first bi-racial student conference south of the Potomac is an exaggeration. Last December I attended a bi-racial session of the Southern Area Student Council of the Y. M. C. A. as a delegate from William and Mary. The S. A. S. C. has held bi-racial sessions for some time, and at this last conference it was voted that delegates to the National Council will be elected at our summer conference, to be held in June, which will be both bi-racial and coeducational.

DOUGLAS H. MORRISON

Norfolk, Va., March 6

## A Commendation

*Dear Sirs:* You are to be commended for your courage in publishing sixteen letters on "*The Nation* and Wallace" all but four of which were critical of your position and to admit that they were a "representative" selection.

AUGUSTUS L. RICHARDS

Remsen, N. Y., March 2

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